/For information on the role of the capitão -- captain, chief or leader of the village, who is concerned with civil affairs and appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, see category 624./

648
• 657

[For information on the role of the capitão - captain, chief or leader of the village who is appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios - see category 624.]

/218 cont./

101 174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Caingué, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, gué = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

• 697 361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Bororo and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tehycuá. [241] At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of [964] the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianersiedler im Südosten des Mato Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

/11 cont./

101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

[114

10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Teñi (Teýí) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination: I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

[114

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avíxiripá, but different from the Txiripá [ (Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarayñé.

[115

[361 Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teixeira, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

[369

101 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (13).
167

[124

11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

## PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *coldnia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of Uniko and Nhu Verá (see map). Uniko, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near Uniko. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*municipio*) of any size is Ponta Porá (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over cart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porá, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and Uniko.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloísa Alberto Torres. With these complete Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Heleno Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and rel-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

# I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

## LOCATION

THE Cayuá, frequently also called Cainguá, and less frequently Caiowá, Caingá, Caiguá, and other similar designations,[1] are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All the Cayuá known to the author now live between the great Rio Paraná on the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west; from Rengger's[2] and other accounts, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818–1826), however, Cayuá territory was extended farther to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1832–1850.[3] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been in northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[4] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1815 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreto de Pirapó, Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[5] in 1880 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory thus seems well corroborated.[6]

The Cayuá, or at least certain of them, were apparently canoe Indians until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[7] Sampaio also gives the impression

[1] Gusinde, 1946, refers to a group of "Paiaguá" whom he identifies with the Cayuá. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Paiaguá proper were a Guaicuruan tribe of the Rio Paraguay. [2] Rengger, 1835. [3] Von Ihering, 1907, p. 384.
[4] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [5] Sampaio, 1880.
[6] Gusinde, 1946, *passim*, makes a rather weak case for the long memory of the "Paiaguá" (Cayuá) in the region of Piracicaba, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely these were Tupi-Guarani peoples in the region since early times, and possibly but not necessarily Cayuá or "Paiaguá." [7] Von Koenigswald, 1908, *passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



*174
*175
648
[464]

have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasionally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestisos*. The *maté* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *maté* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *maté*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brasilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

[496]
[657]

By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Bauré in São Paulo state (where a "Guaraní" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuva study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[10]

[496]
[361]

Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing flow of goods from Brasilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods,

[439]

with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brasilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

---

[10] "A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1942) equipped with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock above its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line to the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on those two rivers.) The "Noroeste do Brasil" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brasilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main Noroeste line south to the Brasilian town of Ponta Porã, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brasilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



grew up. At the present time, these are supplied partly by motor trucks which link them to the railroad towns. The trucks are usually operated by small, individual owners, whose trade and tradition are closely related to that of the older oxcart drivers. Many more of the latter than truck drivers still traverse the frontier region at present, earning their living by moving merchandise. Both trucks and oxen operate over incredibly crude roads; there are now Chevrolets and Fords where there should be only oxcarts—or perhaps prairie schooners, if such a suitable innovation were to be introduced.

### THE *SERVIÇO DE PROTEÇÃO AOS INDIOS*, 1910 TO THE PRESENT

The second decade of the 20th century saw the continuing general increase of white settler population, the growth of a few villages into small towns like Ponta Porã, and the development of limited communications (the railroad) with Brazil's coastal centers. But the major factor justifying setting off one more period between 1850 and the present was the projection and establishment of the SPI. In fact, the establishment of the SPI was a result of the population and development of the interior of Brazil; the Neo-Brazilian had been brought more and more into contact with indigenes who had up to that time escaped the fate of their more coastally living cousins.

The activity of the frontiersman was often unfortunate in its effect upon the native peoples, though doubtless the Neo-Brazilian alleged that primarily it was he who suffered at the hands of the *bugre* (pejorative term for the Indian). The details of frontiersman-Indian relations on such relatively near frontiers as the west of the state of São Paulo diminish not a little the contentions of writers like Gilberto Freyre that the Portuguese colonizers were particularly exempt from the disposition to regard other races as sub-human. Godoi alleges that the Indians living in that region were unacquainted with the difference between bitter and non-poisonous manioc (0). To prevent garden robbing the settlers about Pirassununga allegedly thus conceived the idea of planting the bitter or poisonous variety.[32] Von Ihering, certainly no advocate of sentimental or exceptionally humanitarian treatment of the aborigines, relates that professional Indian hunters or *bugreiros* existed on the frontier. Indiscriminate depredations were carried out by the Neo-Brazilians in reprisal for Indian aggressions, often with little attention to whether the resulting victims were the original perpetrators or even of the same tribe.[33] Actually various islands of Kaingang among the advancing Brazilians maintained markedly hostile relations with the frontiersmen until surprisingly late times (easily into the 1900's)—this east of the Paraná. But the Cayuá were little inclined toward aggressions against the settlers; their activity was probably more of the garden-robbing variety. However, the implication is that they occasionally suffered from the frontiersmen for other than their own acts. It was conditions such as these that called into being a federal agency to deal with the Indians.

[32] Godoi, 1918, p. 36. [33] Von Ihering, 1907.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



*775 The SPI was founded in 1910, and among the first regional *inspetorias*
648 to be formed was that of southern Mato Grosso, with present seat in Campo
• 657 Grande. Under the administration of this local office came the "Caiodás" who were calculated to be "the most numerous tribe of the south of the state" (Mato Grosso). In other words, while the founding of the SPI did not immediately affect the affairs of the vast majority of Brazilian tribes—and still today scarcely affects some groups—the Cayuá were at the other end of the scale, being among the first to be singled out by the Indian Service.

Founded at the instigation of Brazil's famous explorer, Indianist, and modern frontiersman, General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the *Serviço* reflected Rondon's concern for the Indians. They should receive some definition and guarantee of their rights, protection from frontier abuses, and guidance particularly of a non-clerical and non-sectarian sort, in the problems
[797] of adjustment to the new conditions facing them. It was common practice merely to sign over the souls of all the native inhabitants of this or that vast tract of Brazilian territory to some Roman Catholic order. The bland assumption was often made that in this way all was therefore arranged for the best of the respective Indians.[2] Rondon had seen at first hand many tribes in their natural setting and he was well aware of the abuses, secular and clerical, from which they suffered.

Specifically the plan of the SPI was to organize regional *inspetorias* and local posts, as many as were needed, and, where possible, new ones as soon as they were needed owing to the recent advance of the frontier. As soon as land became a question, the Indian territories were to be duly defined and registered. Complaints by Indians of land or other transgressions of Brazilians were to be lodged with the *encarregado* of their local post, and this officer was in all matters to serve as intermediary between whites and Indians. The *Serviço* would also play a positive role in urging the Indians to adopt measures which seemed to their best interests. Schools for Indians were to be
[871] established wherever feasible.

648 For many reasons, not our least concern here, the effect of the *Serviço*
871 has not always been exactly what it was designed to be. Among the Cayuá,
657 the schools affect only a very limited number of children—even of those who happen to live in the local group where a post is located. There are no dormitory or transportation facilities provided—the very idea would be ridiculous and unheard of in the present extent. Practically nobody outside the immediate area of the post is therefore affected by the school. Schooling is at the hands of the wife of the *encarregado* in at least two of the three posts of the Cayuá, and neither of these women in 1940 had even so much as a complete grade school education. Nor did either have any special conception of what kind of teaching Cayuá, as direct from Brazilian, children might put to advantage. The children are taught allegiance, the national anthem, and national laws, and some of the children's laws with which Brazilians in general

[2] Such vast territories are, however, assigned to former Catholic orders still today

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



grow up. It is scarcely conceivable that these things can have much meaning for Cayuá children. Some attempt is made to teach elementary reading and simple numbers, but it would be a surprise to the writer to learn that any important and lasting result is achieved in this. The number of children receiving instruction is small in relation to the untaught; school is held for only a small part of the year and is quite irregular. The level of teaching is low, unprofessional, and little adapted to Cayuá needs or comprehension. The result is simply that the school as a factor of acculturation certainly cannot be great, particularly in relation to its potentialities. Cayuá schools are not attended by Brazilian children but only by Cayuá (1943), which closes one other possible avenue of Brazilianization.

Two principal results of SPI policy stand out in the case of the Cayuá. One is the confinement of the indigenes to reservations which have been assigned them and whose limits have been drawn and recorded; and the other is that the Cayuá are now guaranteed freedom from any large scale attack on their persons or rights, either by whites or by other Indians. This was not formerly the case when they were subject, as has been mentioned, to attacks of both Indians and white settlers.

In general the Cayuá are now allowed to work out their destiny as they see fit so long as this does not raise a troublesome question on which the *encargado* would have to take a stand. The *encargado* generally keeps a light finger on the local pulse, often informally through his Cayuá house servants or other favorites. Often, if not always, he makes the real decision in naming the *capitão* and *sargento*, the civil or police authority in the local group. These officers would presumably look to the *encargado* for backing if their position in their own groups were for some reason not equal to a difficult situation. This dependence is more likely to be true of groups located within easy range of the post, however, than of those at considerable distance. SPI practice, as observed by the writer in southern Mato Grosso, does not seem calculated to develop self-reliance in the Cayuá; rather it is aimed merely at keeping some sort of opportunistic peace in white-Cayuá relations.

The attitudes of local settlers toward the Indians, often expressed openly, and, in any case, obvious in their behavior toward the Cayuá, is one of racial superiority. The Indians "are not really people" (*gente*); they are merely "lower creatures," "children" ("*bichos de mato*," "*crianças*"). And often, when not cheated or threatened, they are treated with an attitude of amused contempt. In some respects both the *encargados* of Cayuá posts known by the writer showed more in this widespread point of view than in the high-minded idealism of the SPI creed.

As far as is known, no special effort is made by the SPI Cayuá posts to improve agriculture or introduce new crops or methods. It is possible that some of the Indians may learn new ways from working in the clearing (*roça*) of the *encargado* or that he may casually suggest some new practice to them or jokingly chide them for doing something which he considers useless

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is neutral. They do not themselves catechise the Indians as a part of the policy of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[104] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphanage and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[104] But see they initially disposed to grant the ethnographer with open arms, some very successful individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[118] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere.

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[119]

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[120] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[121] Such visits entail

---

[118] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guaraní words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guaraní words—as spiritual interest.

[119] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Bilac Verd. Taquapiri is a good half mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of unusual world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is sensed by the local savages that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or loafing places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns.

[120] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in the ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at Ubiña itself, the nearest "town," but too far to travel for schooling.

[121] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



little beyond casual inspection and brief questioning of the local officers. Taquapiri has a *capitão* and a *sargento*, in part selected and by necessity approved by the *encarregado*.[123] *Sargento* and *capitão* have tacitly understood, though quite limited, authority and prerogatives now but no pay, badge of office, nor other special considerations. If any difficulty arises which could not conceivably die of its own accord, the *encarregado* may be compelled to intervene; otherwise, he might not even hear of it or would choose to ignore the report. The *encarregado* of "Benjamin Constant" stated in 1943 that he had not been visited by nor himself gone to see the chief of the region of which his post is an administrative part for a considerable number of years. All in all, the policy of the SPI toward the Cayuá is largely a passive or negative one, at least in its net effect. Certainly no program was in evidence which was calculated to introduce large-scale, consciously directed change. That undirected change of significance may come about in any case, however, is quite evident from the visible results of SPI activity or lack of it.

By far the most important single channel of acculturational influence at the present is the practice of local settlers to employ Cayuá to work for them in their clearings (*roças*) as "peons" (*peões*). The employment of Indians is not necessarily linked to any large-scale activity which makes it indispensable for the settlers to have more labor than their own families provide but is partly related to prestige factors in the local Neo-Brazilian culture.[124] At any rate, the practice results in a larger number of contacts between Neo-Brazilians and Cayuá (men) and for longer periods of time than any other of the gamut of local white-Indian relations. Although great intimacy could hardly be claimed for the relations of *peão* and *patrão*, they are at least as intimate as any others between Cayuá and settler. The *peão-patrão* relationship is discussed in detail under a subsequent heading (see pp. 73–78), but it may be emphasized here that men are almost exclusively involved in these inter-ethnic relations. At Taquapiri only a handful of men speak Portuguese with any proficiency, and many speak it not at all. But there is not a single woman in the village who can speak Portuguese (or Spanish) except for a few loan-words, mostly borrowed along with the alien culture traits to which they refer.[125] Thus among the Cayuá, as in many places elsewhere in the world, where comparable acculturational situations have occurred, the women are perforce the cultural conservatives.

---

[123] The use of these titles, largely as honorific appellations, seems to derive from the early colonial period when the Europeans sought to carry favor with certain individuals by thus favoring them.

[124] Cf. Watson, V. D., 1943, pp. 139–145.

[125] The same acculturational difference between men and women may not conspicuous be so great among Cayuá, but the condition generally holds.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation.

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire tradegoods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (sale) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men is *change* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that pactised by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production as may have the reinforcing effect suggested.

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white others who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is more to cause travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting or fishing activity on former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted.

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. i.), the reduction of the absolute supply of game animals. This has accompaniments of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the break-up of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokué*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinsmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokué*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokué* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling pattern represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borrowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict.

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokué* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokué* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit. To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokué*. Nor can kin nuclei always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokué* are often not all together.[66]

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the center of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquapirí, if not of other reserves likewise, will in the future face a land problem because their reservation is not unlimited as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow is not used in

---

why the house type of the whites could be used was borrowed. Such a simple statement would imply the commonly encountered idea of a sort of "cultural osmosis."

[66] In connection with the broader considerations of rural sociology, the Cayuá conflict between location of the house near the fields or location in a group with other houses is nicely paralleled by the different common American and common European rural practices. The common American pattern is scattered farmhouses, each on its own farm lands, and the European is the agricultural village with outlying farm lands to which the farmer villagers must daily travel.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[179] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on reserves administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the capitão long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

[179] Cf. Nimuendajú, 1939, pp. 104 f.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



*177 182 622 648 Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indigenes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called *capitão* or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.[179] It was naturally more convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority. As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, centralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

• [657] The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

*177 182 622 721 It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hostile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ultimately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite different from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

*177 182 756 622 The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans (*paʔi*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time, as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

[179] *Vis.* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim*. "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



ity, especially in the light of unescapable early references to powerful shamans who appear to have been responsible frequently for deciding civil matters. 177*

Related to the change in aboriginal polity is (II. B. e.) the disappearance of the extended family household and its replacement by the elementary family household. There is little doubt that household headmen existed, and these among themselves may also have exercised authority over the affairs of the local group as a whole. In the extended family system the household chiefs were probably individuals who had assumed their positions by virtue of kinship, marital ties, and age. Some of the chiefs may also have been shamans (*pa'i*). The village chief, if one existed, was likely only a somewhat more influential household chief, although there was regularly no great political power or centralization of control associated with the office. Households or extended families appear to have had much autonomy. 182 756 622

With (II. B. e.) the breakup of the extended family, the opportunity for the household chiefs directly to exercise power largely withered away. Only the single formal office of the *capitão* of the village as a whole remained (or later came into being?) as a point of specific authority.[180] The reality of the *capitão* as a source of authority was aided, as we have seen, by the attitude of the whites.

What of the old extended family polity? The composition of the present-day factions is suggestive on this point. It is likely that these factions are derived from the former extended families; the faction leaders are individuals who presumably would formerly have been household headmen. At present, faction leaders are usually senior members of the various localized kin nuclei (see p. 85) of the village. Under the modern unitary system of political authority, of course, all but one faction leader must be "out of office" at a given time. 177* 182 621 622

The *capitão* himself may sometimes be no regular faction leader because other factors, such as the SPI, enter into his nomination. Moreover, no formal means to exercise authority are now available to the several faction leaders who are not in the position of *capitão*. However, the agreements and disagreements, the informal maneuvering and manipulation of these factions today can hardly be discounted in any complete political description of the Cayuá community at Taquapiri. The loss of the extended family and the formal authority of its headman, together with the consolidation of authority in the *capitão*, reflect the new, but the older pattern continues in attenuated form in the factions and their central personalities. 657 •

[180] Not to lose a sense of proportion, it must be emphasized that the present office of *capitão* is by no means a very formal, active, strong, or inclusive authority. The Cayuá local group is too small and intimate for that. In some respects the average *capitão*, judging mainly from Taquapiri, is no more than the *sen popuã*.

4: Watson--1 E-5 (1943) 1944 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of
241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today,
361 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations
657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for
101 the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-
797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil
361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not
[162] know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

/31 cont./
second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled, the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000 Indians (2).

2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settlement of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with attention paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the undertaking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the Jesuits (3).

3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in which they have had more and more intense contact with the white population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

# HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. Watson
*Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo*

## *Location*

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaaiwá, Kaingá, Kainguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. B., *Reise nach Paraguay*, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua



ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1830-1852.[2] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[3] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[4] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[5] Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[6] Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

[2] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204.

[3] Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuás", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. XVIII, nº 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro).

[4] Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográphicas e Econômicas sôbre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim da Comissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, nº 4 (São Paulo, 1890).

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua



and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

### *Numbers*

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata* or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups – perhaps extended families – without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

### *Present-day Economy*

A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua



under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women.

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present use and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable.

### *Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture*

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations.

### *The Jesuits, 1610-1768*

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set-

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca° wi°.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua



We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or "*bugreiros*" (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doûbtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west.

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17]

### *Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories*

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Indios no Brasil, "*Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 118-140.

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupí-Guaraní peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupí-Guaraní peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua



•657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

### *The Question of Cayuá Canoeing*

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the [481] century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

[175]

[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[127] [19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua



175 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

177 It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
241 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of
648 enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any
182 given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the
• [667] stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

177 A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
241 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible
412 by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon
182 which they have come to depend so completely today. It is difficult to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão* or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S.P.I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.